1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

349 The five villages at which these three-roomed dairies now
343 exist are Nòdrs, Taradrkirsi (Kars), Keradr, Tim (Pan), and
764 Akirsikòdri (Nidrsi). At Taradr a temporary funeral hut with
234 three rooms is constructed within a circle of stones near the village. In the outermost room of this hut the corpse is placed, and women may only enter this room, while men may enter both outer and middle rooms as in the three-roomed dairies. In the innermost room the *palikartmokh* of the village places a vessel of the kind called *mu*, and he only is allowed to enter this room.

This temporary building is almost certainly the representative of a three-roomed dairy which at one time existed at this village; and it is probable that at other male Tarthar funeral places the funeral hut should be made with three rooms, though at present this is not done.

In every case the funeral hut which receives the body of a man is called *pali*, or dairy, and it is probable that at one time among the Tartharol it was the universal custom to place the body of a man in a dairy before the last rites. It is possible that the stone circle within which the funeral hut is built is the representative of the wall surrounding a dairy which formerly existed on the spot. Among the Teivaliol the funeral hut is also called *pali*, but there is no instance among them of an actual dairy being used to receive the dead.

349 At the funeral place of women a hut is specially built for
764 the reception of the body, but it is always burnt down after each funeral. This hut is called *ars*, or house, and has a different name for each ceremony, being called *nersars* for the first funeral, and *kursars* for the second. Each kind of hut is constructed within a circle of stones, and the name seems to indicate that at one time the body of a woman was placed in the house of the village. Here again the stone circle may possibly be the representative of an actual house which once existed at the funeral place.

766 If, for any reason, the funeral of a person is not being held at the proper place, the funeral hut is not constructed within the circle of stones; thus at the funeral of a girl, Sinerani (see p. 392), the hut was placed by the side of the stone circle

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because her funeral was being held at the *kertnòdr* of her father and not at that of her husband. 766

At every funeral place there should be a second circle of stones forming a *tu*, or buffalo-pen. These pens are now rarely, if ever, used, and are a relic of the time when the ceremonies of the *marvainolkedr* were prolonged over two days, the buffaloes being caught and penned on the first day, and killed on the second. A third ring of stones is the *asaram*, at the opening of which the ashes are buried at the final scene of the funeral rites. 764

There are specially appointed days for the funeral ceremonies. These days differ to some extent for different clans and for the two sexes. Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday are the most general days for the funerals of males, only two clans having Saturday as a funeral day for men. For females Thursday and Saturday are most frequently chosen, two clans only holding the funerals of women on Tuesdays. In no case could I find that funerals are performed on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. These days are, on the other hand, the most usual days set apart as *madnol* or *palinol*,[1] and villages which have their *madnol* or *palinol* on Sunday or Tuesday do not appear to have their funerals on these days. The general rule is that a funeral must not take place on a *madnol* or *palinol*. In several cases I was told that if the *mani*, or sacred bell, were used, the funeral must be on one day of the week; thus for the Karsol, it must take place on Sunday; for the Kwòdrdoni people, on Tuesday. These obligatory days of the funeral ceremonies often involve the necessity of keeping the corpse for several days.

I did not make special inquiries into ceremonies of the deathbed, but Marshall states (p. 171) that a man who is not expected to recover is dressed in the ornaments and jewellery of his house, which he will wear till he dies or recovers; and Marshall mentions an instance of a man who had revived from what was thought to be his deathbed who paraded about, wearing the finery with which he had 763

[1] The *madnol* and the *palinol* are sacred days on which certain activities are prohibited (see Chap. XVII).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 436 177 I was allowed to inspect many bore the date 1780, and among the more recent coins were included two Japanese yen. The rolls of coins are placed within the cloak, often near the feet of the dead person.

764 372 Meanwhile the pyre has been lighted. At the funeral of a man this must be done by means of fire made by friction. I have not recorded whether the fire is made by any special relative of the deceased or other special person. At the funeral of a woman, the fire is started by means of a lighted rag which has been soaked in ghi. The rag is lighted by a man, who at present uses matches for the purpose. Though lighted by a man the fire is applied to the funeral pyre by a woman, usually of the same clan as the dead person. The pyre is lighted on the top, where small pieces of wood have been placed, and butter is poured on the fire which gradually spreads downwards. The progress of the fire is very slow, and at every funeral at which I was present the fire was far from strong when the body was placed upon it.

764 766 At the funeral of a male, imitation buffalo horns of wood (*tebkuter* or *petkuter*, see Fig. 35) are placed on the fire and burnt. This was also done at the funeral of the girl Sinerani, but it seemed clear that this was unorthodox and was done by Kuriolv, the father of the dead girl, on account of his great sorrow at her death.

764 775 The body on the bier is now taken up and swung three times over the fire, while a small wooden framework resembling a miniature bier is held under the larger bier. As the body is swung over the fire in this way the bearers say:—

"Kedr tütth tüzdr mud tirk tükütth tütki."
Funeral fire over three times lifted must.

These words seem to be connected with the small wooden framework held under the body, for this is called *tütth tüzdr tükütth khrs*, or "fire over lifted (or lifting) stick."

The bier is then replaced on the ground and nearly all the objects of value are removed from the bier or from the pocket of the cloak. In one case I observed that the bangles were taken from the arms, all the rings except one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

764 765 837 Other special ceremonies fall to the lot of the *mokhthodvaiol* or *sedvaitazmokh* of the dead person if there should be such. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a woman is the recognised lover whom she may have in addition to her husband or husbands. The *sedvaitazmokh* is the name of the woman in this Toda institution. The *mokhthodvaiol* of a dead woman goes to the funeral wearing his ring on the ring finger of the left hand. Before the buffalo is caught he pays the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to the father of the woman; bows down before him and raises each foot to his head. He then puts into the pocket of the cloak of the woman some limes, three handfuls (*mudteir*) of *patcherski* and one large piece of jaggery. He also puts a piece of the dark cloth called *än* into the pocket of the cloak, this act being called *än kudshk it pudithti*. The *mokhthodvaiol* asks the husband of the woman three times "*än kudsh idukina?*" ("Shall I put *än* into the *kudsh*?") and the husband answers each time "*idu!*" In putting the various things into the pocket, the *mokhthodvaiol* has to use his left hand throughout.

When a man dies his *sedvaitazmokh*, if there be one, goes to the funeral ceremony wearing a ring on the ring finger of her left hand, and similarly puts limes, grain, jaggery, and a piece of *än* into the pocket of the dead man's mantle. Before doing this the brothers of the dead man do *kalmelpudithti* to the father of the woman, and this was said to be done in order to obtain permission from him for his daughter to put things into the cloak.

766 At the funeral of a girl, or of a childless woman, there are performed the ceremonies of *urvatpimi* and *pursütpimi* which are usually performed during pregnancy. In life the *urvatpimi*, or hand-burning ceremony, is performed before that of *pursütpimi*, but after death the order may be reversed. These ceremonies are most frequently performed at the funerals of children, and a full description may be reserved till a later section (see p. 391).

In the case of an adult the ceremony is only performed if it has not been performed in life. If a woman dies in the later months of pregnancy after these ceremonies have taken place, they would not be performed at the funeral.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

If an unmarried boy dies, a girl who should be the *matchuni* of the dead boy, is chosen to act as his wife. It seemed that the girl might be of any age, but she must be unmarried, and therefore must nearly always be young. One of the elder brothers of the dead boy performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to the girl's father, or if there are no brothers this will be done by the boy's father. The head of the girl is then covered with her mantle by her father and the girl puts food into the pocket of the mantle of the dead boy. Thus, there is no *pursiitpimi* ceremony in the case of an unmarried boy, but a girl is chosen to act as his widow would have done if he had been married. 766

At the funeral of a Teivali or Melgars male who has not held any dairy office, a piece of *tudr* bark is placed in the right hand of the deceased by a man of the Tartharol. Every male of the Teivaliol or Melgarsol who has been a dairyman of any grade will have been purified with *tudr* bark during the ordination ceremonies, and the piece of bark is only given after death to those who have not been so purified.

The Interval between the two Funerals

As soon as the body is consumed at the *etvainolkadr*, the people go home, the near relatives taking with them the relics of the deceased. These relics are enclosed in two pieces of bark called *pittidri*, taken from the tree called *mittmön*. I was once told that *tudr* bark was used, but this is unlikely. The relics and bark are covered with plain cloth, and the whole is enclosed in a mantle of the kind ordinarily worn. 765

The relics, which are known as the *kedr*, are not taken to the chief village (*etudmod*) of the clan, but to other villages, usually to a definitely appointed village for each clan. If the clan should only have one village, or if the appointed village should be inconveniently distant, a small hut may be especially built in which to keep the relics till the second funeral. The near relatives of the dead person may not go to the chief village in the interval between the first and second funerals. If they are living at the chief village at the time of the death,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XVI

FUNERAL CEREMONIES—*continued*

THE MARVAINOLKEDR

765 THE second funeral may be held little more than a month
766 after the *etvainolkedr*, or there may be an interval of a year
177 or more, and in the case of a child both funeral ceremonies may be performed on one day. In the old days the *marvainolkedr* was a great occasion. The proceedings lasted for two whole days, and were prolonged till daybreak of the third. Many buffaloes were slaughtered; they were caught on the first day, when they were shut up in the circular pen and bells put on their necks. On the second day they were taken from the pen to the slaughtering place, and various ceremonies took place in connexion with and after their deaths. This kind of funeral was called *tuiltkedr*, meaning "the putting in buffalo-pen funeral." In the old days this putting into the pen was sometimes omitted, especially in the case of poor or unimportant people, and the catching and killing of the buffaloes were both carried out on one day, and this kind of funeral was known as *marppitkedr*. At the present time the Todas only have the *marppitkedr*, owing to the restrictions on the number of buffaloes killed. The Todas seem now to believe that the Government have actually prohibited them from putting the buffaloes into the pen at the funerals, but I could not find that this was the case.

765 It is now the custom, and seems long to have been so, to
177 hold the *marvainolkedr* of several people at the same time. The Government allows two buffaloes to be killed for each

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After a funeral, the members of the Tarthar clans, except the Melgarsol, shave their heads, but this is not done either by the Melgarsol or Teivaliol. I did not inquire fully into this matter, and do not know what regulations there are in connexion with the practice, or whether it is regarded as purificatory.

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The Funerals of Children

The body of a still-born child is buried at the same time as, and together with, the afterbirth, without any ceremonial. In one case which occurred during my visit, this was done by the woman who assisted at the delivery. The body was buried in the early morning on the day on which the mother underwent the ceremonies attending removal to the seclusion-hut.

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If a child less than two years of age dies, both funerals are held on one day. The *ttvainolkedr* takes place in the morning, the *marvainolkedr* in the afternoon; a buffalo is killed at each, and the *asarunkedr* is held on the following morning as usual. If the child is very young, less than a month old, a male buffalo only may be killed, but if the father chooses, two buffaloes may be killed as at the funeral of an adult.

Thus, the child of Piliag and Sintagars (52) died while the mother was in the seclusion-hut, and two ordinary buffaloes were killed. On this occasion, the two funerals were held on the same day as that on which the child died, owing to the death having taken place on one of the appointed days for a funeral of the clan. When the youngest child of Podners (47) died, only one male buffalo was killed for both ceremonies.

When a male child dies who has not cut his teeth nor been through the ear-piercing ceremony, the funeral is not held at the usual funeral place for males, but at another. Thus the Karsol do not take the body of such a child to Taradrkirsi but to a place called Punpali.

When I attended the funeral of a girl named Sinerani (52), the daughter of Kurioiv of Kuudr, both ceremonies were performed on the same day, and a number of incidents occurred which were very interesting as illustrations of many of the practices which have been described throughout this chapter. The child was about two years

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

766 588 old and had not yet been betrothed, but as soon as she was dead it was arranged that she should marry her *matchuni*, Keinba (68), a little boy about four years of age, the son of her mother's brother, and this boy occupied a prominent position among those taking part in the funeral rites. Owing to the marriage of the dead child to this boy, the dead child would come to be one of his clan, the Keadrol, and there seemed to be no doubt that, according to strict custom, the funeral should have been held at the funeral place of this clan. Kuriolv, however, arranged that the funeral should take place at Kurkalmut, the funeral place for women of the Kuudrol, but as the girl did not properly belong to this clan the funeral hut was not erected within the circle of stones at this place, but outside it.

The beginning of the funeral ceremonies was delayed for some time because the little boy, Keinba (Fig. 57), had to be taken by his father, Perpakh, in search of the wood and grass out of which to make the bow and arrow to be used in the *pursülpimi* ceremony, and they had to go far to find the proper plants for the manufacture of the mimic weapon.

766 787 791 After this delay the ceremonial[1] took its natural course till the buffalo which had been caught by the Taradr men was being taken to the place appointed for its slaughter by the side of the funeral hut. The people had great difficulty in making the buffalo move, and at last it lay down on a boggy piece of ground, and the efforts of all failed to make it go further. The diviners, Midjkudr and Mongudrvan, were then called upon to ascertain the cause of the obstinacy of the buffalo, and then followed the performance which I have already described (see p. 252).

The reasons given by Midjkudr were not very clear, and there seemed to be a good deal of doubt as to what he had really said, but the following appeared to be the chief reasons given:—

The buffalo, Kursi, which had delayed the proceedings, was the property of Kuriolv and was descended from a buffalo which had belonged to Teitchi, Kuriolv's grandfather. Since this buffalo was thus family property, it should go to the sons, and ought not to be killed for a daughter, and especially for

[1] [i.e. funeral rites for a two-year old girl — Ed.]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

766 one who now belonged to another clan. Kuriolv ought to
787 have used a buffalo which he had acquired in his own life-
791 time. Midjkudr went on to say that Kuriolv, having done wrong, must pay compensation to the dead, and told him to give the buffalo named Perov. As a sign that he would do

FIG. 57.—KEINBA AND PERPARH; THE FORMER IS HOLDING IN HIS HAND THE IMITATION BOW AND ARROW AND HAS HIS CLOAK OVER HIS HEAD.

so, Kuriolv performed the *kalmalpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of Keinba and also through Sintharap, of the dead girl.

Another reason given was that the buffalo had been caught at the wrong place—viz., at the place where it ought to be

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

766 787 791 caught at the funeral of a male. I only heard of this reason a few days later, and I do not know whether it was one of the reasons given by Midjkudr or whether it was a later surmise. A third reason was that Perner and Tebner, his brother, had been on bad terms; and to put this right Tebner, the younger, performed the *kalmelpudiikti* salutation to Perner.

766 588 The next special feature of the ceremony took place after the buffalo had been killed and before the *kachüttkti* ceremony. Keinba knelt down before Kuriolv and Piliag and the two men touched the head of the boy with their feet, thus accepting him as the husband of Sinerani. Then followed the *parsüttpimi* ceremony. The mantle covering the dead child was opened, her right hand unclenched, and Keinba placed the little bow and arrow in the hand, and the fingers of the dead child were closed over the bow so that they held it as they would have done in life. Then the bow was taken out of the hand, placed on the breast of the child, and the mantle was again folded over her. Teitnir, the half-brother of Kuriolv, who had now become the *paisl* of Keinba, came up and covered the head of the boy with his *putkuli* as a sign that he was a widower, and then Teitnir and Keinba put their foreheads together and cried. After crying together for a while, Teitnir touched Keinba's head with his foot. Then Sintharap, the mother of Sinerani, gave grain and jaggery and limes to Keinba, who put them in the pocket of the mantle of the dead child. Sintharap and Keinba then cried together, and Sintharap touched Keinba's head with her foot.

After the cloth-giving ceremony, the body was taken to the burning place, and Keinba mixed honey and grain in a metal bowl; when Keinba began to stir the grain and honey he put his right arm out from above his cloak as usual, but was speedily corrected and made to put out his hand from below the cloak in the manner proper for a widower.

The wrists of the girl were burnt as in the *arrattpimi* ceremony, the burning being done by Silkida (53), the wife of a younger brother of Perpakh, Keinba's father, and, before her

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

marriage, like Sinerani, one of the Kuudrol. Silkidz also lighted the pyre. 766 ● 581

In spite of the results of his previous infringement of funeral law, Kuriolv made a further departure from orthodox custom in burning on the pyre imitation buffalo horns, which should only be burnt at the funerals of males. Then after being swung over the flames as usual, the body was placed on the pyre.

Less than half an hour later, and long before the body could have been consumed, the *marvainolkedr* began, and passed off without any special incident. Another buffalo was caught and killed and laid by the side of a mantle containing hair which had been cut from the head of the dead child by Keinba. The mantle should also have contained a piece of skull, but the body had not been sufficiently consumed to procure this, and so the hair alone was held to be sufficient.

Later a distribution of grain took place, and those who were to take no part in the *marvainolkedr* on the following morning went to their homes.

At another funeral of an unmarried girl, Olidseimi (21), the ceremony of *parrittpimi* was performed by the boy Pulgudr (38), who had been married in infancy to the girl. He was her *matrimui*, being the son of Teijer, the sister of Parkeidi, Olidseimi's father. On this occasion Pulgudr said to his father-in-law, Parkeidi, three times, "*parradikina?*"—"Shall I touch (with the) bow?" and Parkeidi replied each time, "*Parrad!*"—"Touch with the bow!" Then Pulgudr put the bow and arrow into the hand of the dead girl, and Parkeidi covered Pulgudr's head with the cloak, and the boy put grain, jaggery, and limes into the pocket of the cloak of Olidseimi. At the funeral of Sinerani, Keinba did not say the proper formula, probably because he was too young.

Funeral Contributions

In the old days, when a large number of buffaloes were slaughtered at the funerals, and especially at the *marvainolkedr*, it was the rule that every *mamundi*, or sister's son, should 764 431 602

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

582 Kagerikutan (25), the son of her mother's brother. In this case the orthodox marriage was resorted to when the woman had failed to obtain a husband in any other way, although it involved marriage with a baby.

In another case, the marriage of Keitkarg (38) and Pötoveli (49), in which the woman is considerably older than her husband, the husband and wife are *matchuni*.

588 There is one ceremonial marriage in which the husband always stands in the relation of *matchuni* to the wife. This
766 is in the performance of the *purnitpini* ceremony at the funeral of a girl unmarried at the time of her death. The boy who is chosen to give the bow and arrow and to act as the husband is always, so far as I could discover, the *matchuni* of the dead girl.

Similarly, if an unmarried boy dies, the girl who is chosen to act as his widow should be his *matchuni*. In one case of which I have a record, the son of Tütners (58) died and Sotidz (66) was chosen to act as widow. None of the brothers of Puvizveli (65), the mother of the dead boy, had at that time a son, so the duty was undertaken by the daughter of Pangudr, of the same clan as Puvizveli, but belonging to a different family. In this case the *matchuni* was the daughter of a clan-brother because there was no nearer *matchuni* available.

Keinba, who acted as husband at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 394), was the *matchuni* of the dead girl in two ways, as the son of her mother's brother and as the son of her father's half-sister.

582 A *matchuni* may be either the child of a mother's brother or of a father's sister, and I have examined the genealogies to see if a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister the more frequently, and find that there is no great difference, though the former marriage is somewhat the more frequent. There are among the Tartharol twenty cases in which a man has married the daughter of his mother's brother, two of marriage with the daughter of a stepmother's brother, and one with the daughter of a stepmother's half-brother, making twenty-three cases in all. On the other hand, a man married the daughter of his father's sister in fourteen cases, twice he married the daughter of his father's

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[581] 618 766 While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuncimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

1; Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dependent on the transference of a young girl to the clan of a boy who acts as husband to the corpse. By her marriage to Keinba, the dead girl became a member of the Keadrol, and her funeral should have been held at the burning-ground of this clan. Many of the features of the ceremonies were in accordance with this change of clan, and since all were not so, the various mishaps which occurred at the funeral were ascribed by the Todas to the departure from prescribed custom.

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Each clan has its own appropriate* days of the week for the green funeral, "according to the *Shastras*."

The body is not removed from the place of death till it is carried to the burning place,† which the Todas call *Methgúdi* (*lit. Marriage temple*).

All green funerals are alike. I will describe one I saw near Kartéri, at the old burning ground of the neighbouring mands, an open space near a stream. The body was brought on a stretcher preceded by Kota musicians. It is not necessarily carried by the relatives, or even by men of the same clan. A rough hut (called *Nólpali* for a man, and *Nirzhárzh* for a woman,) was built of boughs and grass, in which the body was placed. The women of the mand sat by it, and moaned in their peculiar manner, one of them meanwhile embroidering a strip of cloth for a purse. Four walking-sticks and several skeins of cotton-thread, each with a bunch of cowries at the end, were laid upon the body, which was wrapped in a new *púthuli*,‡ the feet being tied together by the great toes with a piece of blue thread.

A rude circle§ about a yard in diameter was then made of single stones, leaving an entrance gap at one side. Outside this circle the body was laid, with the head opposite the entrance, and the nearest male relatives in turn, drawing their *púthulis* over their heads,‖ took a wand (*Pett*), round which was tied a small rag, obtained from the *Pálál*, dug up the earth at the entrance of the circle, and muttering "*Purzhutukamá*," "May I throw earth?" threw three handfuls into the centre of the circle, and three on the body. After this the body was carried back to the hut and placed on the ground outside, and the women sat round it as before. A large silver necklace (*Ktcdlth*, *Plate* XI., *Fig. 5*), belonging to the widow, was laid on the breast of the corpse.

The funeral pile¶ was made of large logs on a space cleared for the purpose near the hut. The dead man's herd was driven up, and some fifteen or twenty Todas went to it, one of them carrying wreaths of leaves to throw at the doomed buffaloes. Two of the animals were seized by four or five men hanging to their necks, separated from the herd, and dragged to the hut, followed by the Kota musicians. A bell was then

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* *For men.*

Pilki	-	Thursday, Saturday, Sunday.
Todi	-	Sunday, Tuesday.
Kuttan	-	Saturday, Sunday.
Kenna	-	Tuesday, Saturday, Sunday.
Pekkan	-	Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday.
		For women.
All clans	-	Thursday and Saturday.

† Each clan has several *Methgúdis*, separate ones for men and for women. In this case, however, as the deceased was a poor man who had died while on a visit to relatives at a distance, his body was not carried back to the usual burning ground of his Mand.

‡ When death is imminent the patient is dressed in a new *Púthuli* and other cloths.

§ The circle is called *Tuel* (*Kraal*), and is made in imitation of a buffalo kraal. If there is a kraal near the *Methgúdi*, the body is taken there, and the stone circle is not made. It is never made for a woman.

‖ Compare 2 *Sam.* xv. 30; *Esther* vi. 12; and *Jer.* xiv. 3, 4.

¶ The wood of the *Eugenia Arnottiana* is always used at the green funeral, that of the *Olea robusta* at the dry.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

764 lucky and unlucky days. Each night and morning of the interval between the death and the funeral, a lament or coronach is sung over the body by the family and relatives of the deceased. In this they are often joined by passing friends, or by those who have come for the purpose of thus testifying their respect for the dead, and sympathy with the survivors—a trait in the character of this people exhibited in many other ways, and more remarkably than with even many civilised nations.

765 The day of a death is observed by the immediate relatives, as it was among the ancient Jews, as a solemn fast. Their necklaces and ear-rings are also taken off, and the hair is cut short, as a sign of grief and mourning. Both sexes are obliged to conform to this custom on the death of a near male relation, though when a female dies the men do not do so. The sacred class, or *Terralees*, are exempt in either case.

764 On an appointed day, the relatives from a distance having duly arrived in obedience to the summons, the body covered over with a mantle, but having the face exposed, is carried in procession on a sort of bier to the *Terrarees*, or sacred ground belonging to the family, and, under the superintendence of the high priest attached thereto, assisted by his subordinate, is burned with certain solemnities and much wailing; the relatives, prior to the corpse being placed on the funeral pile, cutting off a few locks from the head.

766 The above are, however, only the preliminary honours paid to the dead, the principal rites being deferred to a subsequent period, which may be a few weeks, or as many months later.

With a view to the coming rites, portions of the deceased's ashes are saved from the pyre, and, together with the locks of hair, his ear-rings and other ornaments, are carefully folded in his own mantle, and laid by until the proper time arrives.

The concluding ceremonies are, perhaps, the most singular and interesting of all the Toda customs, and I was fortunate in having an unusually favourable opportunity of witnessing them. For, familiar as some of their practices have latterly become in the neighbourhood of our new Hill-stations, their funeral obsequies are only celebrated in the more remote parts of the mountains, and are consequently seldom seen by any European. 000 Indeed, I do not know that the presence of Captain J. and myself would have been tolerated on the occasion to which I

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWGO Toda AWGO

refer, had we not been accompanied, or rather introduced, by the Moravian missionary, Mr. Metz, whom I have already mentioned as being so much esteemed by the tribe. 000

Our ride to Kapilla, the scene of these interesting rites, lay for some miles over a fine open undulating table-land dotted with enormous rhododendrons, which were loaded with clusters of dark crimson flowers. Gradually we got into higher ground, now pressing our hill-ponies up steep acclivities, now skirting the edge of great forest belts stretching downwards for many a mile into the sultry valleys at our feet, till, guided by the appearance of a few distant natives wending their way towards an isolated wood on one of the surrounding mist-covered peaks, we at length came within hearing of the shrill and very peculiar sound of Khota hautboys. 7660 137

Leaving our ponies, we entered a deep shadowy wood of moss-grown trees, whose gnarled and twisted stems and branches were also completely covered overhead and down to the ground with ferns, orchids, long pendent tufts of grey lichen, and parasitical plants, one with dark glossy leaves and an orange flower being especially beautiful.

In an open space, near the centre of this shady grove, and lit up by the bright rays of the midday sun, was a surging crowd of white-robed Todas, and half-naked Khotas with wild and excited looks, whose unmusical pipes drowned all other sounds. Outside the wood, on an open green space, stood a Toda temple, having its gable-ends of polished wood thickly studded over with silver coins of various sizes, fixed in perpendicular rows on each alternate plank. Near at hand was a small temporary shed, or ridge-shaped tent, made of pieces of native cloth, whilst at a little distance off was a large circular *tooel*, or cattle kraal, with a wall both higher and thicker and altogether much more substantial than usual. It was constructed of stones and sun-baked clay, the entrance being barred with stout poles. 766 346

Within this enclosure stood ten splendid buffaloes, their clean bright skins and polished horns indicating that some pains had been taken to improve their naturally fine appearance. 766

Crowds of women and children stood or sat about the temple, in which a party of the former had just placed the deceased's robe and ornaments, together with two bags containing his ashes. With the exception of the younger children, who were naked

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AUGO Toda AUGO

766 the whole were clad in clean, white, soft-looking mantles, and wore ear-rings and necklaces of gold and silver. A plaintive monotonous wail was sustained while each man arriving passed before and bowed towards the dead man's ashes.

766 All the males, except one or two grey-headed old patriarchs
541 who sat with great dignity a little aside, now danced together in
231 a circle holding hands, the Khota musicians accompanying them
782 with tom-toms and pipes. ½

When this was concluded half-a-dozen young men, evidently selected for their strength and activity, came forward, each carrying a long heavy club made of dark wood and pointed at the thicker end. Having thrown off the usual mantle, they stood in a kind of kilt of thick white cloth, having a red border round the lower edge, or skirt, the upper part of their bodies, as well as the legs, being bare. In this picturesque and most becoming costume they looked exceedingly handsome fellows, models as they were of muscular symmetry. At once advancing towards the cattle enclosure, with all the women and children running after them in the greatest excitement, these combatants leaped in among the buffaloes, the crowd instantly closing round and completely covering the wall, each endeavouring to get as good a view as possible of the coming spectacle.

The buffaloes were, as may be supposed, alarmed by these unusual proceedings, and their alarm became all the greater when the clubmen dancing wildly in their midst commenced striking them with their clubs. When their panic was at its height the men, watching their opportunity, sprang two together on the necks of three of the largest animals simultaneously, seizing them by the horns and nostrils and endeavouring to bear them to the ground, and affix a collar and bell round their necks. This bell is of the kind usually worn by one or more animals in every herd when grazing, and is of the ancient four-sided form, made of a single plate of metal and roughly riveted.

Marvellous was the agility displayed by these gladiators, as we may term them, in avoiding the savage thrusts of the huge sharp-pointed horns and in getting in behind them on to the animal's neck, wrestling in desperate strife as they were borne here and there among the trampling feet, now dashed against the wall, now on the ground.

To escape unhurt in such a combat was impossible, and it was

½ [Second funeral rites -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AuGOTodaAuGO

not long before we saw one of the men receive a dangerous wound in the neck from the thrust of a horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. He at once became an object of the greatest solicitude among the women, and was led away as a hero to the small tent, where he received every care and attention at their gentle hands.

As, one after another, fresh animals were attacked and borne to the ground with terrific struggles, those already belled and liberated turned on the common enemy, angrily tossing their formidable horns and butting so savagely that, had it not been for the extreme quickness and coolness of these men, some of them must have been killed. Their clubs now swung round and aloft with greater rapidity, and the heavy blows fell thicker and faster, the loud shouts and excited gestures of the male spectators, the exulting *Hau, hau* of the combatants, the weeping and occasional shrieks of the women, the stamping and rushing in the arena, the bellowing of the buffaloes, whose nostrils were covered with blood and foam, and the circling clouds of dust half-hiding the writhing mass, formed a whole more easily pictured in the mind than in words. A bag of the deceased's ashes was now laid at the entrance to the kraal, and the high priest, taking a handful or two of earth, threw some of it on the ashes, and some into the kraal amongst the buffaloes. One of these lay dead in the enclosure, and the rest were one by one led, or rather dragged out to their final doom, struggling violently, and plunging right and left in vain endeavours to escape from their brawny captors, who still clung to their necks. Forced up to a post fixed in the ground, at the foot of which lay the robe, ornaments, and ashes brought from the temple, the battered, bleeding animals were at length despatched there by the high priest's sacrificial axe as an offering to the dead.

Though the women had beheld with interest and excitement the torture of these unfortunate brutes, they now exhibited the greatest grief at their death, sitting and kneeling round the carcases with clasped hands and streaming eyes, addressing them in the most affectionate terms, as "Are you happy?" "Is it well with you?"

The mourners, male and female, next drew near to each other in couples, the man putting out first the right foot and then the left towards the woman he approached, who, dropping on one

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Nilgo Toda Nilgo

knee, touched it with her forehead. Both parties then seated themselves on the ground close to and facing each other, and bringing their foreheads together remained in that attitude, with their hands placed either on each other's knees or shoulders, the woman weeping aloud, and having her mantle drawn closely over the head. In a few minutes the man would rise, and with a plaintive ejaculation, go to another to perform again the same ceremony, invariably offering first his foot, which was always saluted with the forehead.

All this weeping and wailing, divided as it was between the buffaloes and the dead man, had a most striking effect. So unfeigned did their grief appear that I could not but feel that our presence was an intrusion. This scene continued until the mourners, who formed only a portion of those present, had all gone through the ceremony one with the other, when the priest, standing by the deceased's ashes and robe, laid on them a handful of what appeared to me, as far as I could see, to be some kind of seed or grain, and then, accompanied by the under priest, bore it back again with great reverence to the temple, the crowd falling back to permit the passage of the priests and their charge.

With this seemed to terminate the first part of the obsequies, and a sudden change came over the whole scene. The dead buffaloes were removed by noisy parties of Khotas, who had either bought them, or earned them by their services just concluded; and the crowd of Todas again assumed their every-day deportment, as they prepared for a general meal or feast.

We found that the rites would not be resumed till dark, when the robe and ornaments were to be burned; but, as we had no shelter to go to for the intervening seven hours, and no food for either ourselves or our ponies, which were, moreover, shivering from the cold of this elevated position, we were obliged to forego the gratification of witnessing the conclusion, but were shown the spot where it was to take place. This was within a circle of stones, exhibiting signs of many former burnings, and occupying a retired situation at the edge of the grove.

In the centre of this ring, on a pile of dry wood, the priests place the mantle, bags of ashes, ornaments, and wand of the deceased, together with gourds and grass-baskets of grain, for his sustenance in the other world, and the whole are ignited as the mourners stand round, the women with their heads still covered

by the mantle, and the men joining in a monotonous cry of *heh-hey, heh-hah*. Every vestige of the remains is on this occasion destroyed by fire, and the metal ornaments having been carefully searched for, the ashes are buried under a large flat stone in the centre of the circle. This done, the ornaments are taken home by the family with every sign of respect and affection for the lost one.

The Khotas.—Next to the Todas in point of interest, and probably also in antiquity of race, as well as of settlement on the Hills, stand the Khotas, though the two races have nothing in common either as regards physical development, countenance, usages, or dwellings.

A party of Khotas seated, as I have often seen them, in the evening, outside their dingy huts, presents an exceedingly wild and weird appearance. Thin and spare in form, and very black, the men wear only a dirty cloth round the loins, and the uncomely women the common wrapper of the country. The bare heads of both sexes are shaggy, with matted locks of dusty hair, sometimes tied in a knot behind, and invariably uncombed from the day of their birth. This is very different in nature from that of the Toda, and could it by any possibility be disentangled would be found naturally long and straight, instead of curly and clustering; the bushy beard is also absent, and every feature is of an opposite character to those of the tribe with which they are so closely in contact; the countenance being entirely destitute of that intelligent and pleasing expression so noticeable in the other.

Dirty in their dwellings and persons, they are also unclean feeders, devouring dead cattle, putrid flesh, birds of prey, or vermin, with as much apparent relish as fresh buffalo-meat, for which, unlike the Todas, they have a great predilection. I have myself seen a Khota carry home for food a dead rat thrown out of the stable a day or two previously by my *ghorawallah*. Practising such habits, it is not to be wondered at that the Todas consider them an unclean people.

On the other hand, they are a peaceful and industrious race, ingenious artisans, and indispensable to the other tribes, for whom they manufacture gold and silver ornaments, pottery, agricultural implements, wood-work, and baskets, besides acting, as already described, in the capacity of musicians at the funeral and other ceremonies of their less skilled neighbours. For these varied services they receive payment from the Todas in coin or buffaloes, and from the Badagas in grain and other produce.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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234 37J *Wightiana.* Of these one, terminating in a blunt convex extremity, is about 2′ 3″ long; the other, with a hemispherical cavity scooped out close to one end, about 2½″ in length. A little nick or slot is cut on the edge of the shorter stick, and connected with the hole in which the spindle stick is made to revolve. "In this slot the dust collects, and, remaining in an undisturbed heap, seemingly acts as a muffle to retain the friction-heat until it reaches a sufficiently high temperature, when the wood-powder becomes incandescent."* Into the cavity in the short stick the end of the longer stick fits, so as to allow of easy play. The smaller stick is placed on the ground, and held tight by firm pressure of the great toe, applied to the end furthest from the cavity, into which a little finely powdered charcoal is inserted. The larger stick is then twisted vigorously, "like a chocolate muller" (Tylor) between the palms of the hands by two men, turn and turn about, until the charcoal begins to glow. Fire, thus made, is said to be used at the sacred dairy (ti), the dairy houses of ordinary [766] mands, and at the cremation of males. In an account of a Toda green funeral,† Mr. Walhouse notes that "when the pile was completed, fire was obtained by rubbing two dry sticks together. This was done mysteriously and apart, for such a mode of obtaining fire is looked upon as something secret and sacred." At the funeral of a female, I provided a box of tändstickors for lighting the pyre. A fire-stick, which was in current use in a dairy, was polluted and rendered useless by the touch of my Brähman assistant! It is recorded by Harkness‡ that a Brähman was not only refused

[113] * R. Bache. Royal Magazine, August 1901. † Ind. Ant., III, 1874.
‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills, 1832.

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of this, the rule was made that the body should always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon." [Colonel Marshall narrates the story that a Toda who had revived from what was thought his death-bed, has been observed parading about, very proud and distinguished looking, wearing the finery with which he had been bedecked for his own funeral, and which he would be permitted to carry till he really departed this life.] As soon as the pyre was fairly ablaze, the mourners, with the exception of some of the female relatives, left the shōla, and the men, congregating on the summit of a neighbouring hill, invoked their god. Four men, seized, apparently in imitation of the Kota Dĕvādi, with divine frenzy, began to shiver and gesticulate wildly, while running blindly to and fro with closed eyes and shaking fists. They then began to talk in Malayālam, and offer an explanation of an extraordinary phenomenon, which had appeared in the form of a gigantic figure, which disappeared as suddenly as it appeared. At the annual ceremony of walking through fire (hot ashes) in that year, two factions arose owing to some dissension, and two sets of ashes were used. This seems to have annoyed the gods, and those concerned were threatened with speedy ruin. But the whole story was very vague. The possession by some Todas of a smattering of Malayālam is explained by the fact that, when grazing their buffaloes on the northern and western slopes of the Nīlgiris, they come in contact with Malayālam-speaking people from the neighbouring Malabar district.

At the funeral of a man (a leper), the corpse was placed in front of the entrance to a circle of loose stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been specially constructed for the occasion. Just before the buffalo sacrifice, a man of the Paiki clan standing near

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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764. 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhuthin—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 614 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption 597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these [616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly [837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – [582] which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of [835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I [123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their 584 *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish 584 his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death, [775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a [588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded [766] to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only 178 that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species